

KNOW NOTHINGS

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# Abraham Lincoln's Political Career Through 1860

## Know Nothings

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

"I have hoped this organization (Know Nothings) would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them. Of their principles I think little better than I do of those of the slavery extensionists. Indeed I do not perceive how any one professing to be sensitive to the wrongs of the negro, can join in a league to degrade a class of white men."

(From a letter to Owen Lovejoy, Aug. 11, 1855. Tracy, p. 59)

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"Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty, - to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

(Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, Vol. II of Nicolay and Hay, p. 287.

**MR. LINCOLN'S OPPOSITION TO KNOW-  
NOTHINGISM.**

The following letter from ABRAHAM LINCOLN, written when the Knownothing mania was at its height, is interesting as showing that he had too much sense and principle to give it the least toleration :

" SPRINGFIELD, May 17, 1859.

" DR. THEOPHILUS CANISLUS—*Dear Sir* : Your note asking, in behalf of yourself and other German citizens, whether I am for or against the constitutional provision in regard to naturalized citizens lately adopted by Massachusetts, and whether I am for or against a fusion of the Republicans and other opposition elements for the canvass of 1860 is received.

" Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State, and it is no privilege of mine to scold her for what she does. Still, if for what she has done, an inference is sought to be drawn as to what I would do, I may, without impropriety, speak out. I say, then, that as I understand the Massachusetts provision I am against its adoption in Illinois or in any other place where I have a right to oppose it. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negro, and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself."

" As to the matter of fusion, I am for it, if it can be had on republican ground, and I am not for it on any other terms. A fusion on any other terms would be as foolish as unprincipled. It would lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still carry the whole South. The question of men is a different one. There are good patriotic men and able statesmen in the South, whom I would cheerfully support, if they would now place themselves on republican grounds. But I am against letting down the republican standard a hair's breadth. I have written hastily, but I believe it answers your questions substantially.

Yours, truly,

A. LINCOLN.



### Important Political Changes in Indiana.

The Vincennes *Gazette* has taken down the Fillmore and DONNELSON banner, and in the following article it gives its reasons for so doing:

At your meeting in April last, you chose delegates to attend the People's Convention at Indianapolis, on the 15th May following; and, also, ratified the nominations of Fillmore and Donnelson, which had previously been made by the American National Convention. The delegates appointed by you went up to Indianapolis and took part in the Convention, and aided in the formation of a Union or People's Ticket. The American Party throughout the State, met in common with the Republican party, and both united harmoniously in the transaction of the business of the Convention. Nothing that does not betoken a triumph equally as great as that in 1854, when a similar coalition carried the State by thirteen thousand majority, has yet transpired. But it has been evident for some weeks past, that the Old Line keepers of the seal had recently made a remarkable change of front towards the American party of the State. Two weeks since we remarked in this paper that the Indianapolis *Scimitar* was the best Know Nothing paper in the State, and it did apparently sympathize more earnestly with the American party than even the Louisville *Journal*. The orators of that party also softened their curses of the American organization with homed phrases of flattery. The "midnight assassins," "the murderers," "the traitors," the "damnable villains," the "church burning clan," the "proscriptive mobocrats," and all other such epithets which Old Line orators were wont to lavish upon Know Nothingism, gave place, with a wonderful precipitancy, to pleasing encomiums upon the "patriotic nationality of the great American party." It very suddenly became a very powerful, virtuous and noble party, in their estimation. Like many others, we did not understand this manœuvre at the beginning, but it came out at Indianapolis, on the day of the late Convention, in a very unmistakable manner. The American party in this State is pledged to the support of the People's Ticket, and Bright and Willard saw that it became necessary for their salvation to break of this union; and hence they left no stone unturned to accomplish their purposes. They succeeded in so far that a few of those who claim to act with the American party, notwithstanding that party is bound to support their joint nominations, made in May last, us to vote, in effect, all who sustain that ticket, out of the party!

Fellow-citizens, we ask your attention to the manner in which it was done, to the men who did it, and to the motives which actuated them.

The resolutions reported to the Convention were read, their adoption moved, and immediately upon the motion to adopt another was made for the previous question, cutting off all debate or explanation. The motion for the previous question is an unheard-of resource in a popular assembly, and is used only in legislative bodies, where the discussion has become wearisome, and a majority has determined to put a stop to the debate, if possible, by forcing a vote upon the proposition. But under this gag rule an expedient was found, for the first time in an Indiana popular convention, to force through a series of resolutions without a word of discussion. The first of these resolutions declares "it inexpedient to make or recommend any organization with reference to State or Congressional elections." That is what the American party of Indiana is forced to say, after having co-operated in the formation of the People's Ticket, which they endorse, and have fought for its success for two months. The Americans of Knox county, who formally assembled in convention and chose a delegation to attend the May Convention, thus, if they acquiesce in such proceedings, have their mouths stopped, themselves ruled out of the party! And who is it, that deems it inexpedient to pursue a uniform, consistent course? Who is it that thus pushes you aside and sets themselves up as the infallible exponents of the great doctrine? Not one of the leaders of this movement has ever been recognized as in any way connected with the American party. Col. R. W. Thompson, who is interested in getting his forty-thousand dollar claim through the Senate of the United States, and who has never been a member of the American party, was the principal man in the convention. It was under an arbitrary decision made by him, that the above resolution was passed.—Thompson is endeavoring to get up a split between the Republicans and the Americans on the State Ticket, to better the prospects of Bright's

re-election to the Senate, for if he can succeed in dividing the votes of these two wings in several of the counties, Democratic members will be elected to the Legislature, and thus that party will secure a majority in that body. Bright and Wright will go to the United States Senate, and they are pledged to procure the passage of a bill for the relief of Col. R. W. Thompson.

Another very active outside manager is very largely interested in the transfer of the Wabash and Erie Canal back to the State. He is not, and never has been a member of the American party, and, although he was active in supporting the course of the Convention, he openly boasted that he would vote for Willard and Buchanan, and support them through the campaign. These, with one or two other available hirings, (conspicuous among whom was one Crosby, of Terre Haute, a more contemptible puppy than whom does not breathe, who officiated as go-between for Willard and Company, and Thompson and Dowling, and who boasted that he would vote for Willard and Buchanan,) contrived to sell out the Convention, "lock stock and barrel," to the corrupt and damnable clique of Old Line Locofoco politicians, who fester upon the State Treasury at the "Capitol." These are the men who attempted the betrayal of the American party of Indiana—who would sell out the American organization, the one that he might secure a claim against Government for forty thousand dollars, and the other that he might the more certainly secure the taking back of the Wabash and Erie Canal! It is not to be wondered that Larrabee and Willard chuckle over their easy victory. It will cost them individually nothing, but the General Government and the State will bleed for this conquest. It is true, fellow-citizens, that the successful prosecution of Indian claims and canal schemes have wrought a wonderful revolution in the minds of some great men with respect and incidental to the election of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency.

If anything further was wanting to show the corrupt design at the bottom of this action, and to develop the secret springs which prompted it, it may be found in the fact that a large proportion of the Electors named on the ticket have uniformly, until very recently, been the most violent opponents of the American party in the whole State. Of this class are Thomas H. Stungeld, W. K. Edwards, and John B. Howe. What have these gentlemen ever done to entitle them to the honors thus thrust upon them? Did they earn the distinction by joining in the bitter and violent denunciations of the American party? Such are the men, under the bargain and sale to Willard & Co., the American party calls to its posts of honor. The honors of the American party are divided with its most determined enemies.

There cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the true key to all this action: It is to give the Old Line party the ascendancy in the Legislature.—This is the sum total for which the American party was bargained, sold and conveyed to Bright, Willard and Company, on the 16th day of July, A. D., 1856.

Fellow citizens of Knox county, we protested in your name, against this action, as unworthy the cause, unworthy the men who concocted it, and unworthy and disreputable to the honored name of Millard Fillmore. And for one, we shall in no way countenance or aid the faction who would thus sell us out. They and their new friends must fight their own battles. We shall use all the power that God has given us to defeat the unholy coalition thus sought to be made, and to redeem our beloved State from the thralldom of corrupt, debased and selfish demagogues who now fatten upon the State Treasury, in the name of Democracy; and for this purpose, as the only resort now left to us, we shall co-operate with the Republican party.

*Chancellor John C. ...*

# LINCOLN LORE

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## LINCOLN AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

The question is often raised whether or not Lincoln was ever affiliated with any fraternal organizations, secret organizations, and religious denominations. Long before he was nominated for the presidency he was charged with either holding membership in, or on the other hand showing anti-tendencies towards, certain social, philanthropic and reform movements.

While a member of the Illinois Legislature in 1837, he joined with but one other member in objecting to an anti-abolition resolution which had passed, yet he could at no time in his life be definitely associated with the radical anti-slavery forces or in sympathy with the measures which the radical members of the abolitionist group supported.

Abraham Lincoln affiliated with the Washington Temperance Society as early as 1841 and while he is known to have made several speeches in favor of temperance yet he probably could not be classified among the more ardent reformers of that period. The Springfield, *Illinois State Register* charged that he had joined the society for political influence and this charge may have made Lincoln cautious about joining other organizations as time went on.

A group of men who wielded considerable political influence and were opposed to the Catholic Church were tabed "Know-Nothings." Lincoln was accused of having been a member of the organization but this he emphatically denied on several different instances. In a letter to Joshua Speed in 1855 he stated: "I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain." Writing to Edward Lusk in 1858 he said: "I am not, nor ever have been, connected with the party called the Know-Nothing party."

When Lincoln ran for Congress in 1845 he was charged by his opponents with being an atheist. This accusation he found necessary to deny in the form of a printed poster, yet, modern historians still pin the charge of infidelity upon him. It is admitted generally that he was not a member of any orthodox religious body. The story, so widely circulated in recent years, that he joined a missionary society, can only be sustained by considering donations which he made as fees for membership.

During the war on March 12, 1864, two military officers, members of the Knights of Pythias, were cited to appear before the President and his Secretary of State to answer the charge that the order was a treasonable organization. Secretary Seward asked that the ritual be read, which request was refused unless the President and Secretary would take the obligations. The President is said to have replied, "That is very fair." The Knight then said, "There is one portion of the ritual which I can disclose to you:—Every member of the Order of Knights of Pythias must be loyal to the flag of his nativity or to the flag of his adoption." Thereupon the President is said to have remarked, "Gentlemen you are released. This information has done

the work." It is not likely however that Lincoln could have been received into the order by affirming this one obligation in the ritual.

One of the several political units absorbed by the newly organized Republican Party was known as the "Anti-Masonic group" which openly opposed Freemasonry. During the 1860 campaign Rev. Dyer Burgess of Adams County, Ohio, an anti-mason adherent "wished to support Abraham Lincoln but would not do so until he had written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln and received an answer to the effect that Mr. Lincoln did not belong to any secret society." In a reply written by Mrs. Lincoln to Dyer Burgess on October 29, 1860, there is this statement, "Mr. Lincoln has never been a Mason or belonged to any secret order."

Previous to the writing of this letter by Mrs. Lincoln, but during the same month, Dr. Robert Morris of Oldham County, Kentucky, visited Springfield, Illinois, called on Mr. Lincoln and reported his conversation with the President in these words:

"Mr. Lincoln, I came up the road last night with an old Masonic friend, Judge Douglas. Last Friday I came down to Louisville with another Masonic friend, Mr. Breckenridge, and a few weeks ago one of my agents, Mr. Porter, met in the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, Mr. John Bell. So you see all three of your opponents for the Presidential chair are Freemasons.

"Mr. Lincoln replied: 'I am not a Freemason, Dr. Morris, though I have a great respect for the institution.'"

The *New Age* in its issue for January, 1940, states that Tyrian Lodge of Springfield in its minutes for April 17, 1865, after adopting a resolution on the President's death entered this notation:

"That the decision of President Lincoln to postpone his application for the honors of Masonry, lest his motives be misconstrued, is in the highest degree honorable to his memory."

Possibly a word should be said about Lincoln's association with informal groups which might remove any idea that he was anti-social. While a member of the Illinois Legislature, he was grouped with eight other senators and representatives from Sangamon County known as "The Long Nine." A debating and literary society at Springfield, Ill., held his interest for a period of time. He was classed by his political opponents as a member of the local "Junto" clique of Whigs at Springfield, who were supposed to have controlled the party. His association with a political group in Washington, during his term in Congress known as the Young Indians, further reveals his gregarious tendency. The fact that Lincoln was not a member of several social, philanthropic, and reform groups should not imply he did not have the spirit of fraternalism.







# Lincoln Lore

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## Lincoln and "Civil Religion"

Abraham Lincoln's religion was once a subject of burning controversy among most Lincoln students. Richard N. Current gave the subject its last notable consideration by an academic historian in 1958 (in his chapter entitled "The Instrument of God" in *The Lincoln Nobody Knows*). Since then, churchmen, theologians, and professional students of religion have claimed the field that historians have aban-

doned. Far and away the most capable work produced since 1958 is William J. Wolf's *The Almost Chosen People: A Study of the Religion of Abraham Lincoln*, published in 1959 and reissued as *The Religion of Abraham Lincoln* in 1963 and as *Lincoln's Religion* in 1970. Wolf, a professor at the Episcopal Theological School, wrote a balanced account that deserves its popularity. Since then, however, the studies of Lincoln's



FIGURE 1. "A Communion Gathering in the Olden Time" is an illustration from *Presbyterian Reunion: A Memorial Volume, 1837-1871* (New York: De Witt C. Lent, 1870). It is suggestive of the norm of American religious experience in Abraham Lincoln's day. Even the restrained Presbyterians held religious services out of doors, away from an institutional church. And one can see that the single minister seems almost inadequate for the masses present.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation



religion have become increasingly didactic, championing Lincoln as "the chief theologian of civil religion" that America reputedly needs now. Elton Trueblood's *Abraham Lincoln: Theologian of American Anguish*, published in 1973, is the most widely noted of these recent attempts to find in Lincoln a model for a twentieth-century theology.

A word about this twentieth-century theology, "civil religion," is in order. It is a loose liberal theology which says that the nation in its history must be informed by some spiritual role. As a liberal theology, it conceives of spirituality as embodied in part in social morality. As Herbert Richardson says in "Civil Religion in Theological Perspective" (in Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion* [New York: Harper and Row, 1974]), "The concept 'civil religion' unites two terms: the civil order and the religious order." It is broadly ecumenical and therefore rather uninstitutional, unchurchly, and anti-creedal. It is historically oriented and conceives of revelation as a gradual historical development. A recent critic of civil religion (and of Abraham Lincoln as theologian or prophet of the religion), Melvin B. Endy, Jr., of the Religion Department at Hamilton College, terms it "simply . . . the mythic belief that the United States is a latter-day chosen nation that has been brought into existence and providentially guided as a fundamentally new social order to serve uniquely as a 'city on a hill' for the rest of mankind."

Abraham Lincoln is an important prophet in this scheme for several reasons, not the least of which is that he never too closely identified this nation's purposes at any one time with God's will. Champions of civil religion fear just what its critics harp on as its dangerous weakness: it might lead to an intolerant belief that this nation state can do no wrong. The Civil War President's famed expression of concern "that I and

this nation should be on the Lord's side" in response to a clergyman's question whether "the Lord was on our side" becomes a crucial episode for the advocates of civil religion. (In truth, this quotation is known to us only through the second-hand recollections of painter Francis Bicknell Carpenter, *Six Months in the White House* [New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866], page 282.) Another major document, of course, is the Second Inaugural Address with its forgiving pledge of "malice towards none; . . . charity for all." Thus Lincoln strived to make the war a moral crusade against the social evil of slavery without ever assuming that God's purpose was so clear that the opposition had to be seen strictly as malevolent forces of Satan's darkness. "His patriotism," says Trueblood, "was of such magnitude that it cannot easily be exaggerated, but it was never idolatrous, and it was saved from idolatry by the overwhelming sense of the sovereignty of God" (page 118).

Once Lincoln's Christian statesmanship is so interpreted, it is easy to fit the rest of his life into a scheme which nicely fits the demands of civil religion. His own personal faith developed historically and slowly through periods of anguished doubt and uncertainty about the divine will. "One of the important features of Lincoln's theology" as Trueblood describes it, was "that it was a *development*." Lincoln's "spiritual pilgrimage" led from "theological positions of his early manhood" to mature ones which had "little in common" with the earlier ones. In fact, he probably went through a stage in which he was the village skeptic:

In his effort to reach a rational theology, Lincoln as a young man had very little real help. There was no church at New Salem, and few of his neighbors cared greatly about ideas. Though the deep sense of reverence which had developed in the Indiana forest seems never to have left the young man, he began to speculate in ways which made some people think of him as verging on infidelity. Certainly he was influenced for a time by the amateur philosophizing of his pioneer neighbors, as he revolted against the ignorant preaching which he heard from time to time. As a young boy in Indiana, he had enjoyed mimicking the hell-fire and brimstone preachers of the raw frontier.

Lincoln argued, for a time, a belief in what he called the "Doctrine of Necessity," what we would call determinism today.

In 1841, Lincoln and Mary Todd temporarily broke off their engagement to be married. Lincoln was thrown into such a slough of despond that he neglected his duties as a legislator and went to visit his old friend Joshua Speed in Kentucky. Speed's mother-in-law gave Lincoln a new Bible, and Lincoln said of it in a letter, ". . . I intend to read it regularly when I return home. I doubt not that it is really, as she says, the best cure for the 'Blues' could one but take it according to the truth." Twenty years later in the White House, Lincoln still remembered the gift of the Bible. Most historians mark this date, 1841, as a time when Lincoln began to have a renewed awareness of the Revealed Word.

The next step in his spiritual pilgrimage was a new awareness of the Word as it came from preachers. In 1850, Lincoln's three-year-old son Edward Baker died after a fifty-two day illness. Mary Lincoln was so shaken that she joined Springfield's First Presbyterian Church, the pastor of which, Dr. James Smith, consoled her and preached the sermon at her son's funeral. Her husband did not join, but he began to attend services more regularly, as is evidenced by his renting a pew in Dr. Smith's church.

The years of the Civil War were the last big step in Lincoln's pilgrimage. It was a time so suffused with a sense of crisis and great moral questions that it is difficult to focus on specific events in the way one can in Lincoln's earlier life. Nevertheless, one date does seem to stand out in all accounts, February 20, 1862. On that day, Lincoln's eleven-year-old son William Wallace died. Mrs. Lincoln, who had herself been severely shaken by the domestic tragedy, recalled later, in re-



Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library

**FIGURE 2.** Dr. James Smith was the minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield from 1849 to 1856. President Lincoln remembered the family's consolator and appointed him Consul to Dundee, Scotland.





From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

**FIGURE 3.** The First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Illinois, had as a full-fledged member Mary Todd Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln rented a pew there and heard some of Dr. Smith's sermons.

gard to Lincoln's religion, "He first seemed to think about the subject when our boy Willie died, and then more than ever about the time he went to Gettysburg." (Mrs. Lincoln admitted, incidentally, that her husband was "never a technical Christian.") Mary Todd Lincoln could not herself completely sort out the discrete events of that blurred period of daily crises, and she seems to have linked his religious development somewhat with the Gettysburg Address. But she did recall that there was an abrupt change (it was the "first" time he thought about it) after Willie's death.

Thus Lincoln's religion, never orthodox but increasingly profound, developed fully in time, the civil religionists tell us, to inform the most important actions of his Christian statesmanship, especially, of course, the Emancipation Proclamation, decided on as a policy by Lincoln in the summer of 1862.

Religious writers are now much too sophisticated to fall for the myriad of unreliable stories of secret promises made to clergymen days before his death that Lincoln was to convert and become a full-fledged member of some church or other. They listen to what the historians tell them were the facts of Lincoln's religious life and attempt merely to interpret them in their own way. They seem in a great haste, though, to master the facts and move on to the important didactic work at hand. Unfortunately, the Lincoln story deserves a more leisurely examination, the sort of examination which does not wrench the man from his historical context but carefully measures him against the events and culture of his own times.

In his haste to fit Lincoln into his theological scheme, Trueblood has failed to fit Lincoln into the historic surroundings of Lincoln's own life. There was a sort of American civil religion that was being championed in Lincoln's own time, and he was notably impervious to its appeal. In fact, there was an attempt to found a specifically religious party in American politics in

the 1850's, the American or Know Nothing party. Informed by an impatient reforming zeal to take a stand on issues which the established Whig and Democratic parties avoided, the Americans waged campaigns to lengthen the period of naturalization for immigrants to twenty-one years (the same time it took a native-born American to gain the franchise), to exclude foreign-born citizens from holding public office, and, above all else, to keep the Catholic Church from receiving public money for parochial schools. The public schools of Lincoln's day required Bible reading and supplied the Bible used by Protestants for the purpose. Catholics used a different Bible and reasoned that their tax dollars ought not to go to the purpose of changing their sons and daughters into Protestants. The issue stirred hatred and political excitement as only public school issues can in American political history.

Although Know Nothingism did not measure up to the standards of today's ecumenism, it was at least a nonsectarian movement. It required cooperation among all the differing Protestant sects to the end of halting what was viewed as the Roman menace to American civil liberties. The chief complaint against the Roman Catholic Church was that it did not believe in separation of church and state nor in freedom of thought and expression, two fundamental aspects of American political identity. Complaints about specific religious interpretations of, say, the Eucharist did not find their way into the political literature.

That Lincoln was never tempted by the Know Nothings is common knowledge. That the temptation must have been very great is not so commonly acknowledged. Lincoln told Owen Lovejoy on August 11, 1855, that the Know Nothings in Springfield "are mostly my old political and personal friends; and I have hoped their organization would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them." The Know Nothing enthusiasm even infected Lincoln's own home. In 1856, he cast his fortunes with the Republicans and John Charles Frémont. The Americans and Whig remnants also had a candidate in the field, Millard Fillmore, and, had there been female suffrage in that day, Mrs. Lincoln would have voted for a different candidate from her husband. Writing to her sister Emilie Todd Helm on November 23, 1856, Mrs. Lincoln discussed the recent election:

Your Husband, I believe, like some of the rest of ours, has a great taste for politics & has taken much interest, in the late contest, which has resulted very much as I expected, not hoped—

Altho' Mr L is, or was a *Fremont* man, you must not include him with so many of those, who belong to *that party*, an *Abolitionist*. . . . My weak woman's heart was too Southern in feeling, to sympathise with any but Fillmore, I have always been a great admirer of his, he made so good a President & is so just a man & feels the *necessity* of keeping foreigners, within bounds. If some of you Kentuckians, had to deal with the "wild Irish," as we housekeepers are sometimes called upon to do, the south would certainly elect Mr Fillmore next time[.]

Lincoln's religion was exempt from the anti-Catholic animus which was a norm of American Protestantism in that pre-ecumenical era. In fact, Lincoln's religion was for the most part unlike that of most Americans in his day. The other great aspect of antebellum Protestantism was evangelicalism, enthusiastic revivalism. Indeed, the two great forces were closely related. The original impulse for revivalism in the two decades after 1800 had fed, in some part, off the fear of the Catholic menace in the West. And both phenomena were aspects of enthusiastic religion. There was no cool rationalism in the barks, jerks, laughing exercises, singing exercises, anxious benches, prayers of faith, and sermons from the heart which gave this era of American religious history, known as the Second Great Awakening, its distinctive cast. And there was no cool rationalism in the Know Nothing





*From the Lincoln National Life Foundation*

**FIGURE 4.** The Reverend Phineas D. Gurley ministered to Lincoln's spiritual needs while he was President. He conducted Willie's funeral service and delivered the funeral address at the White House after Abraham Lincoln's death.

movement, which Michael F. Holt has described as "the politics of impatience." By contrast, Lincoln's religion was notably quiet, private, and rationalistic rather than enthusiastic in tone.

Now doubtless the civil religionists' answer to this would be that I have just pointed out all the reasons that Abraham Lincoln is the superior prophet of American civil religion. They argue that a civil religion is inevitable. Therefore, they would simply say that Lincoln's is the superior version of civil religion, uniting morality and statecraft without uniting specific religious institutions and the state. In fact, Elton Trueblood finds just these traits to be the superior ones in Lincoln's religious example: (1) He never joined a church because no creed was completely satisfactory. (2) His religion needed no ministers and no institutional church; it was a religion that relied on the Bible and private prayer and a careful and humble reading of the Divine Plan as revealed gradually in the workings of the American electorate. There was no embarrassing fundamentalist enthusiasm about Lincoln's dignified calls for national days of fasting and thanksgiving during the Civil War. (Mr. Trueblood, incidentally, is a Quaker, and his own religion has never required preachers or an institutional church.)

It is unfair and unhistorical to suggest by this that Lincoln was superior to his benighted age and that his more restrained religious experience looked forward to a better day when passionate emotionalism would wither and religion would be more dignified, more sophisticated, and less the result of crude mechanical contrivances like the anxious bench. Actually, the norm of religious experience in Lincoln's own day was increasingly anti-creedal (in that it stressed the role of the heart in conversion over the role of any intellectual assent to

systematic doctrine enunciated in theological sermons). It was also anti-churchly. Revivals took places in camps and fields and tents, not within the confines of an institutional church presided over by an established minister. Lincoln's religion thus resembled the religion of his day in *unessential* matters; it was different in the essential one, the personal form of expressing religious passion. Many Americans did it by falling on the ground or at least by professing a changed heart. Lincoln expressed it in musings on the mysterious workings of the Divine Will and apparently by increasing private reading of the Bible and increased attention to religious teaching by ministers.

The civil religionists were so happy to find in Lincoln's spiritual pilgrimage a gradual development or growth that flowered finally in those war years of terrible passion that they failed to note the most obvious aspect of it: *it was always utterly private and personal.*

All of the major landmarks of Lincoln's religious history were events which had absolutely nothing to do with civil society, the state, the nation, politics, moral reform, or the general public. He found the Bible as a cure for deep personal depression caused by the break up of his romance with Mary Todd. He first rented a pew in a church when he experienced the death of an infant son. He took his first interest in religion large enough for his wife to perceive it when he lost another young son to death in 1862. Mrs. Lincoln said his interest *increased* at the time of the Gettysburg Address, but she said it was triggered by Willie's death. It seems wrongheaded to try to found a *civil* religion on a prophet who was utterly *private* in his own religious experience. The civil religionists use Lincoln's example to inspire a form of religion which did not move Abraham Lincoln himself.



*From the Lincoln National Life Foundation*

**FIGURE 5.** The New York Avenue Presbyterian Church was Phineas Gurley's pulpit. The church now contains chimes and bells that were gifts of Robert Todd Lincoln and Mary Lincoln Isham, son and granddaughter of Abraham Lincoln.





# Lincoln Lore

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## LINCOLN AND WASHBURNE

Though historians have praised President Lincoln's skilled handling of Congress, their discussions of the subject are usually confined to the Cabinet crisis of 1862 and to his abilities to handle difficult personalities like Charles Sumner's. The President's relations with the House of Representatives have been little explored. The tendency to think of Lincoln as a "Whig in the White House," to borrow the language of David Donald's famous essay on Lincoln's theory of the Presidency, reinforces the lack of interest in this question. The Whig theory of the Presidency, after all, dictated that the President simply enforce the will of Congress, use the veto sparingly, and — as Lincoln explained the theory in the election of 1848 — not even force a party platform on the country. A President following such a policy would not "handle" Congress at all. The best student of the Civil War Congress, Leonard P. Curry, concludes that Congress made considerable inroads on executive power during Lincoln's Presidency, though there was nothing like the achievement of Congressional dominance that would come in the Johnson years that followed the Civil War.

Whether this view of the decline of executive power *vis-a-vis* Congress in the Civil War years is true or not, its effect has been to stifle curiosity about Lincoln's friends in Congress. He did have friends there, and two notable examples were Isaac N. Arnold and Elihu B. Washburne. Arnold was not only a great partisan of Lincoln's cause but also an early Lincoln biographer. Yet it is almost impossible to find published material on this Illinois Congressman.

Elihu B. Washburne, if he had a less direct relationship with Lincoln than Arnold, had a longer and more significant career in Congress, and he was close enough to President Lincoln to merit considerable attention.

Washburne was born in Maine in 1816. He was named Elihu Benjamin Washburn but added an "e" to his last name in order to revert to what he thought was the proper spelling of the name among his English ancestors. This has caused some confusion because he had two brothers, Cadwallader and Israel Washburn, who also became prominent in American politics. Although they did not spell their last names identically, these three brothers became a powerful force in American politics. In fact, the Wash-

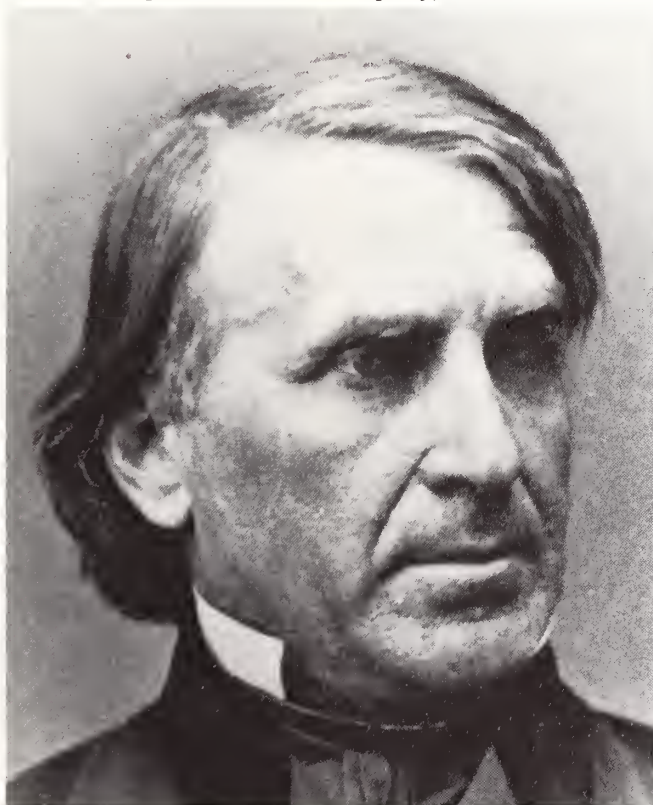
burns hold the distinction of being the only family to have three brothers in the same Congress representing three different states.

After various attempts to find a career, Washburne attended the Harvard Law School, became a member of the Massachusetts bar, and moved to the Illinois lead-mining boomtown of Galena in 1840. A Henry Clay Whig, Washburne met Lincoln the very year he moved to Galena. It was the year of the great log cabin campaign for William Henry Harrison. Their closest association, however, came at the time of the formation of the Republican party and after.

Washburne was elected to the first of eight consecutive terms in the United States House of Representatives in 1852. He was then still a Whig, but he was among the earliest converts to the Republican cause. As early as November of 1854, he could boast to Lincoln that every representative and senator sent to the state legislature from his northern Illinois district was a Republican, and this was almost two years before Lincoln would embrace that new party label. Washburne shared with Lincoln an animosity to the Know-Nothing party, which was at the time the principal competitor of the

Republicans for anti-Democratic voters. In 1854, for example, he helped carry an amendment to the homestead law which allowed those aliens who had declared their intention to become American citizens to acquire public lands in the same way full-fledged citizens did.

Washburne was a staunch supporter of Lincoln's drive to win a seat in the United States Senate in 1855. He and his friends saw every member of the state legislature from his district (the state legislatures still chose the United States Senators), and he told Lincoln how each man was leaning. He warned the candidate: "We are pretty ultra on the slave question . . . , and you will have to take pretty high ground." Washburne worked to gain Free Soil support for Lincoln. He suggested that Lincoln write a letter describing his positions on the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, the admission of new slave states, and other aspects of the great slavery question which Washburne thought would override all others. He offered to show the letter to Salmon Chase and to get Chase to write Free Soilers in Illinois



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FIGURE 1. Elihu B. Washburne.



on Lincoln's behalf. Washburne himself saw Joshua Giddings, found him to be Lincoln's "strongest possible friend," and reported Giddings's willingness to "walk clear to Illinois to elect" Lincoln. Giddings wrote Illinois's most successful radical antislavery politician, Owen Lovejoy, twice to urge support for Lincoln's candidacy.

Washburne was an experienced politician, and, when he saw trouble brewing, he reported it. He told Lincoln of one influential friend in his district who opposed Lincoln's candidacy because Springfield's political influence had always been used against the interests of the northern part of the state. Thus an astonished Lincoln had to deal with the perennial sectionalism that plagued Illinois politics. "For a Senator to be the impartial representative of his whole State," Lincoln thundered in his reply, "is so plain a duty, that I pledge myself to the observance of it without hesitation; but not without some mortification that any one should suspect me of an inclination to the contrary." For eight years a Representative of Sangamon County in the legislature, Lincoln, "in a conflict of interests between that and other counties," would have felt a "duty to stick to Old Sangamon," but he could not recall any such conflict with members from the northern part of the state. He could recollect only "co-operating on measures of policy." The Illinois-Michigan Canal "was then the great Northern measure, and it, from first to last, had our votes as readily as the votes of the North itself."

Washburne had the politician's gift for turning a man's trouble to party advantage. One member of the legislature, Wait Talcott, was "in the biggest kind of a lawsuit for an alleged infringement of a patent." Washburne advised Talcott's agent to seek Lincoln's services in the case. If Talcott did so, Washburne was sure it would "be a good pull on him" to support Lincoln for Senator.

Washburne's and Lincoln's efforts failed in 1855, of course, and in 1858, when Lincoln tried again to reach the Senate, Washburne was again in Lincoln's camp. But now there was a complicating factor. Although Washburne was an early and dedicated Republican, he felt keenly that the party was "not so large but what it will hold a few more." He supported Lincoln's candidacy, but he had expressed a hope that Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's opponent, might become a Republican. Douglas had broken with the Democratic Buchanan administration over Kansas policy, and Washburne for a time thought the break decisive for Douglas's future loyalties. Lincoln, on the other hand, was nervous about talk from Eastern Republicans that the party in Illinois ought to let Douglas retain his seat unopposed. He did not trust Douglas, and this strategy would squeeze Lincoln out of any hopes for a Senate seat. Rumors of Washburne's shaky position on the Senate contest made Lincoln's supporters anxious. On April 28, 1858, Washburne told William Herndon that he could not "see the wisdom of abusing" Douglas, "as matters stand now." Four days later he was writing Lincoln much the same thing, explaining, though, that he "had no idea of making him Senator or making him a leader." As for the "idea . . . industriously circulated in our State, that the republicans outside the State were wanting to sell us out in Illinois," Washburne assured Lincoln from his Washington vantage point that "such stuff ought not to be believed for a moment." On May 15th Lincoln expressed himself as "quite satisfied" that Washburne had done no wrong. He was willing "that the matter may drop." By May 31st Washburne was reporting that Douglas had "ceased associating with our folks, but is very thick with the other side. He is understood to repudiate all sympathy with republicans and desires no support from them."

Washburne found Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 "so unexpected we could hardly believe it," but, as a member of the Republican Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign, he promised to "devote my whole soul and energies to the campaign." Interestingly enough, he reported that Stephen Douglas thought the choice of Lincoln "the strongest that could have been made." Like many others, Congressman Washburne immediately advised the candidate to "keep very quiet and out of the way as much as possible."

Washburne's residence in the Capital made him an especially valuable reporter for Lincoln. In May he informed the candidate that "Pennsylvanians of American [i.e., Know-Nothing] proclivities are some what troubled" by the planks in the Republican platform which affirmed the rights of immigrants. They had appealed to Washburne to suggest that

Lincoln's letter accepting the nomination "say nothing about the platform, so they can support you without committing themselves to those planks." Washburne asserted that "we must have" the American element in that state; he thought the request "worth considering." Lincoln ignored the advice.

In Congress, Washburne was more a doer than an orator, but on May 29th he delivered a speech, later widely reprinted as *Abraham Lincoln, His Personal History and Public Record*. Washburne admitted that it "was hastily got up," but he thought it "necessary . . . that your record while in Congress should be brought out in answer to the misrepresentations already made." A full page of the eight-page pamphlet explained that Lincoln voted in favor of supplies and land bounties for soldiers even though he opposed the Mexican War. The Republican Congressional Committee printed the speech and made it available for fifty cents per hundred. Copies of it were among the 40,000 speeches and documents (on the average) which the Committee distributed at the height of the campaign in the fall (the documents were franked by the Congress's free-mailing privilege, a form of Federal funding of election campaigns in Lincoln's day). The Committee was inexhaustible in its attentions to voters. One of Washburne's letters introduced Lincoln to one H.P. Scholte, an Iowan of Dutch descent, who had been in Washington translating Republican campaign materials into Dutch.

As election day approached, Washburne, who adhered to the philosophy that "there is no telling who will be governor

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN, His Personal History and Public Record.

### SPEECH

OF

## HON. E. B. WASHBURN, OF ILLINOIS.

Delivered in the U.S. House of Representatives, May 29, 1860.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. WASHBURN, of Illinois, said:  
Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Republican party, through its proper organization, has placed in nomination for President of the United States, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois. The people, who will be called upon to pass upon that nomination, have a right to inquire into the life, the character, and the political opinions, of the man who is commended to their suffrages for the highest office in their gift. The State which I in part represent on this floor, having been honored by this nomination, I come here to-day to speak of the personal and political history of the candidate. I have known Mr. Lincoln well for twenty years. I have known him in private life, I have known him at the bar, and have been associated with him in every political contest in our State since the advent of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," in 1840. While I may speak with the accents of a strong personal friendship, I shall speak with the frankness of conscious truth, and, I trust, without exaggeration.

Springing from the humblest ranks in life, and unaided by the adventitious supports of family or wealth, Mr. Lincoln has reached his present exalted position by the strength of his will, the power of his intellect, and the honesty of his heart. He was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, February 12, 1808; his family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, in 1816, where he passed his boyhood amid the roughest hardships and the most trying experiences of a frontier life. Without schools, and almost without books, he spent his time amid the wild and romantic scenes of the border, alleviating the hard labors of the farm by the sport of the huntsman. Of fine physical development, with a vigorous intellect, quick intelligence, ready wit, and genial character, he gave early evidences of the superiority he has since attained. His first advent into the great world, from the comparative seclusion of his frontier home, was down the Wabash and

Ohio rivers in charge of a flat-boat, of a class known to all the old river men of the West as "broad-horns." These boats, laden with the productions of the farmers, floated down stream until a market was found for the cargo; and when that was disposed of, the boat itself was sold, and those in charge made their way back, in the best manner they could, to their homes. A great many persons have heard Mr. Lincoln relate, with inimitable effect, the anecdotes of his experience of that portion of his life.

In 1830, Mr. Lincoln emigrated to that State, with which his great name has now become historically connected. He passed the first year in Macon county, and actively labored on a farm, where he had a fellow-laborer, by the name of John Hanks, *splendid three thousand mile*. This portion of the history of Mr. Lincoln's life gave rise to the incident in the late Republican State Convention at Decatur, in Macon county, which awakened the intensest enthusiasm of that vast concourse of citizens from all parts of the State. Mr. Lincoln was present as a spectator in that Convention, and was invited to take a seat upon the platform. When he had taken his seat, it was announced to the Convention that John Hanks, an old Democrat, who had grown gray in the service of that party, desired to make a *conspicuous* contribution to the Convention; and the offer being accepted, forthwith two old-time fence rails, decorated with flags and streamers, were borne through the crowd into the Convention, bearing the inscription:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

THE RAIL CANDIDATE

FOR PRESIDENT IN 1860.

Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in

1859 by John Hanks and Abe Lincoln.

The effect was electrical. One spontaneous burst of applause went up from all parts of the "wigwam." Of course, Mr. Lincoln was called out, and made an explanation of the matter. He

PUBLISHED BY THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. PRICE 50 CENTS PER HUNDRED.

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FIGURE 2. This Dutch translation of Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address, perhaps the work of F. P. Scholte, was an 1860 campaign document. It is the only Dutch title listed for 1860 in Jay Monaghan's *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*.



Start bill May 16 1903 NO 1

De Republikeinsche Party verdedigd enz.

# REDEVOERING

VAN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

IN HET COOPER INTIJUT. FEBRUARY 27, 1860.

Mr. President en Medewerkers van New York:

De daadzaken waarmee ik my dezer avond zal bezig houden zijn meestal out en bekend, ook is er niets nieuws in het gebruik dat ik er van zal maken. Indien er eenige nieuwheid in is, het zal zijn de manier om de daadzaken te voorstellen, en de gevolgtrekkingen en opmerkingen die uit deze voorstelling voortvloeien.

Senator Douglas zelde, in zyne redevoering laatste herfst, te Columbus, in Ohio, als opgegeven in de "Nieuw York Times."

"Onze vaders, toen zy het Gouvernement vormden waaronder wy leven, verstonden dit vraagstuk juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter als wy tegenwoordig doen."

Ik stem dit ten volle toe, en neem het aan als een text voor deze redevoering. Ik doe dit omdat het een juist en door beiden erkend aanvangpunt levert voor een verhandeling der Republikeinen en die vleugel van de Democratie aangevoerd door Senator Douglas. Het laat een ronding het onderzoek over: "Hoe verstonden die vaders het venette vraagstuk?"

Wat is het grondwerk van het Gouvernement waaronder wy leven? Het antwoord moet zijn: "De Constitutie der Vereenigde Staten." Die Constitutie bestaat uit de oorspronkelijke, opgesteld in 1787 (en waaronder het tegenwoordige Gouvernement het eerst in werking trad), en twaalf daarna gemaakte verbeteringen, waarvan de tien eerste gemaakt werden in 1789.

Wie waren onze vaders die de Constitutie maakten? Ik veronderstel de 39 die het oorspronkelijke stuk tekenden moogen met recht onze vaders genoemd worden die dat gedeelte van ons tegenwoordig Gouvernement ontwierpen. Het is volkomen waar niet alleen dat zy getrouw vertegenwoordigden het denkbeeld en gevoelen van het geheele volk ter dier tyd. Hunne algemeen bekende namen behoeven nu niet te worden herhaald. Ik neem dan deze 39 voor het tegenwoordig ge als onze vaders die het Gouvernement ontworpen waaronder wy nu leven. Wat is nu het vraagstuk het welk volgens de text, deze vaders juist zoo goed, en zelfs beter verstonden, dan wy nu doen?

Het is dit: Verbiid een juiste verdeling tusschen plaatselyk en federaal gezag, ofsets in de Constitutie aan ons Gouvernement het beheer in betrekking tot Slaverny in ons Federaal Grondgebied?

Hierop antwoord Douglas bevestigend en de Republikeinen ontkennend. Dit vormt het verschil, en dit verschil, dit vraagstuk, is juist dat geene wat de text verklaard dat onze

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FIGURE 3. Washburne's campaign speech for Lincoln.

till after the election," was not overconfident, but he warned Lincoln that he would be "utterly overrun" with office-seekers if he won. And the Illinois Congressman, though "reluctant to be among . . . the crowd," did say that he would like to see Lincoln too. He did so on November 12th and "found Old Abe in fine spirits and excellent health, and quite undisturbed by the blusterings of the disunionists and traitors." When he returned to Washington, Washburne found that "secession feeling has assumed proportions of which I had but a faint conception," and he told Lincoln that "our friends generally in the west are not fully apprised of the imminent peril which now environs us." Washburne expressed Congress's feelings for "conciliation but firmness" and called for "masterly inactivity."

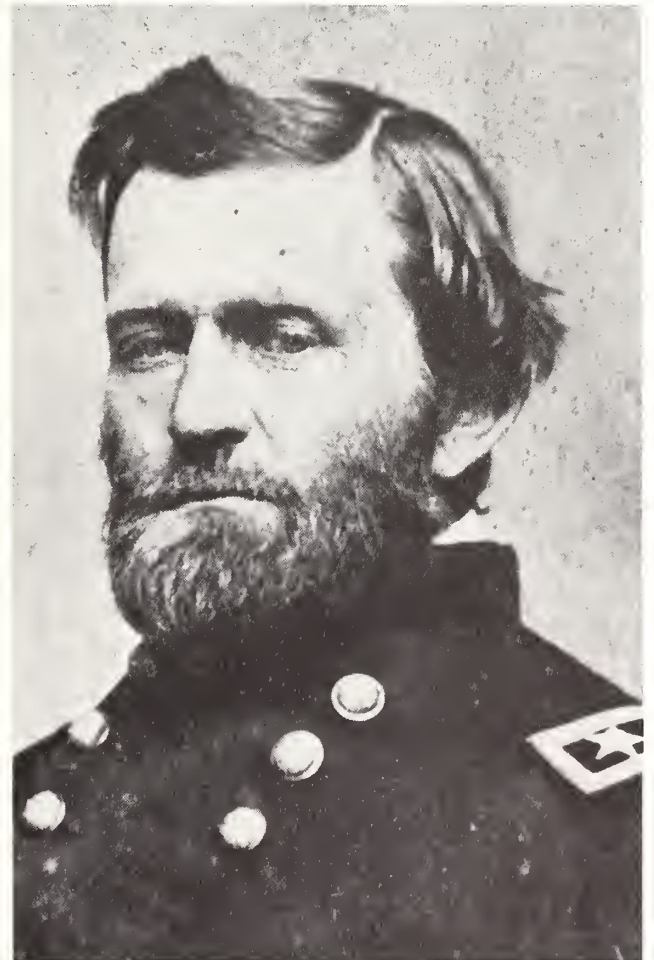
Washburne's hopes rose and fell, but, in general, he sensed that real trouble was brewing. Having had some acquaintance with Winfield Scott when he was the Whig candidate for President in 1852, Washburne was now able to see the old general in Washington and keep Lincoln, who was still in Springfield, in touch with the crisis over Federal forts in the South and later with the security measures for the city and Lincoln's inauguration. He gave Lincoln advice: not to compromise on the platform, to procure a private secretary who would not sell his influence and who knew etiquette and French, and to stay in a private residence in Washington before the inauguration. He opposed Simon Cameron's appointment to the Cabinet vigorously.

Early in January, Washburne became alarmed about a conspiracy to seize the Capital and prevent the inauguration. With William Seward and two other members of Congress, Washburne employed two New York detectives to investigate the rumors of conspiracies. He referred to them in later letters as "our friends from N.Y.," and expressed great fears about

the state of opinion in Baltimore. Washburne's fears calmed late in January but rose again early in February. He was in the end the only man on the platform when Lincoln came into Washington secretly for his inauguration.

Unfortunately for the historian, once Washburne and Lincoln were together in Washington, the correspondence between them decreased in frequency and importance. They no longer had to discuss political matters by mail. As a Congressman, Washburne became the particular champion of fellow Galena townsman Ulysses S. Grant. He saw to everything for General Grant's career from military promotions to the coining of celebratory medals. His loyalty knew no limits. When Grant issued his infamous Order No. 11 banning "Jews, as a class" from the Department of the Tennessee late in 1862, Lincoln eventually received so many protests that he revoked it. Washburne protested Lincoln's revocation, saying that he considered "it the wisest order yet made by a military Command." For a period in 1863, Washburne accompanied Grant on campaigns and gave a wonderful portrait of that colorful and dedicated soldier. His "entire baggage consists of a tooth brush," Washburne said. A thirteen-year-old boy carried the general's sword. He had no servant, no blanket, no overcoat, and no clean shirt.

In Congress, Washburne loyally supported the administration's war effort. His view of the task was simple. As he expressed it after the Battle of Bull Run, "We will whip the traitors yet. Their barbarities towards our wounded will arouse a spirit of vengeance which will not be appeased till their leaders are all hung and their followers are driven into the gulf." He voted with the more zealous Republicans and was a tough man in a floor battle. When Congressmen debated the bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia in the spring of 1862, Washburne knew who had the votes to win: "If gentlemen of the other side offer amendments, let us hear them, and then vote them down." Like fellow Illinois Congressman Isaac Arnold, Washburne was



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FIGURE 4. Washburne's favorite general, U. S. Grant.



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Printed by L. Towers for the Union Congressional Committee.

an ardent supporter of the bill to make the old Illinois and Michigan Canal of Whig days a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes.

Washburne was among the earliest to seek Lincoln's commitment to run for reelection, asking him to "let some of your confidential friends know your wishes" as early as October of 1863. He was a member of the Union Executive Congressional Committee for the campaign and once again franked thousands of speeches and documents. He even assessed Lincoln's Cabinet members \$250 each for the circulation of documents. He became quite alarmed at the state of opinion in his home state and repeatedly pleaded with the President to furlough Illinois soldiers to vote in the election. He acted as an intermediary with Grant when Lincoln wished to use a letter from Grant for campaign purposes. The general replied to Washburne's inquiry that Lincoln could use "anything I have ever written to him as he sees fit," but added: "I think however for him to attempt to answer all the charges the opposition will bring against him will be like setting a maiden to work to prove her chastity."

Like others of Lincoln's friends in Congress, Washburne is a figure badly in need of a biography. The sketch of his career here is suggestive of his importance and of the illumination such a biography would bring to our understanding of the Sixteenth President.

*Editor's Note:* This article is based on the following letters from Washburne to Lincoln in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress: December 19, 1854; December 26, 1854; January 17, 1855; May 2, 1858; May 31, 1858; May 19, 1860; May 20, 1860; May 30, 1860; December 9, 1860; January 6, 1863; and May 1, 1863. Grant's letter to Washburne about Lincoln's use of his letters is also in that collection (September 21, 1864).

## LINCOLN AUTOGRAPHED DEBATES: STEPHEN T. LOGAN COPY

Many would say that this, the sixth article in a series on the presentation copies of the *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois*, should have been the first. The copy presented to the "Hon. S.T. Logan, From his friend A. Lincoln" is the only known copy signed in ink. Harry Pratt, who published the first survey of these famous books in *Manuscripts* in the summer of 1954, and Charles Hamilton, the famous manuscript dealer, believed that this was very likely the first copy Lincoln gave away. Their theory was that Lincoln discovered when he signed this book that the soft paper caused the ink to smear and thereafter inscribed the copies in pencil.

FIGURE 5. Washburne's committee franked speeches on this list by the thousands in 1864. Washburne did not include a speech of his own on the list, but other members of the committee did. The committee sent circulars and speeches to Republican groups. On the backs of the speeches, they advertised other available speeches. One of these lists is pictured here.

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Stephen Trigg Logan was Lincoln's second law partner and a lifelong friend. Of those who received the known presentation copies, Logan was by far the most closely associated with Lincoln. If he gave copies to David Davis or to John G. Nicolay, for example, they have never come to light.

The Logan copy was in the hands of the Logan family until 1946. Logan's great-granddaughter, Martha Coleman Bray, received the book at the death of her father. He was Christopher Bush Coleman, the son of Lewis Harrison Coleman, who married Stephen T. Logan's daughter Jennie. She sold it to William H. Townsend, a noted Lincoln collector and author from Lexington, Kentucky. Townsend at one time owned two presentation copies of the *Debates*, the Logan copy and the copy given to Job Fletcher. In 1953 he sold the Fletcher copy to the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, which in turn sold it to Lincoln collector Justin G. Turner of Hollywood, California. Sometime later, Turner also acquired Townsend's other copy. In 1968 Victor B. Levit purchased the Logan copy from a sale of Turner's collection at a Charles Hamilton Autographs, Inc., auction. Mr. Levit of the law firm of Long & Levit in San Francisco still owns the Logan copy and very kindly sent me much of the information on which this article is based.



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FIGURE 6. Stephen T. Logan.





